1: Gifford E-4,5 (1920-1921) 1929 OU9 Tonga OU9

his high position is derived from the Tui Tonga, chiefliness is an attribute which flows from the sovereign, the Tui Tonga.

The chiefs of Tonga collectively are called *houeiki* (*hou*, a collective prefix; *eiki*, chief). According to one informant (Puleti of Nukualofa) the term *houeiki* applies only to the Tamaha, the Tui Tonga, the Tui Pelehake, and the Tui Haa Takalaua, and denotes their celestial origin. (Actually only the first Tui Tonga and the first Tui Pelehake descended from heaven according to mythology, the Tamaha and Tui Haa Takalaua being later developments.) Puleti characterized all other chiefs as "braves" (*toa*) and "chiefs by the hand" (*eiki i he nima*), that is, chiefs who won their rank with the club on the battlefield, a characterization which seems subjective.

The arbitrary powers of chiefs, as described by Cook, Labillardière, Mariner, and others, are no longer exercised. Occasionally a chief horsewhips one of his subjects (I learned of one who whipped two young men who walked past his house smoking cigarettes), but the use of the club has entirely disappeared.

The ideal combination for chiefly rank is that both parents be of chiefly blood. The offspring of a chief and a commoner are spoken of as half-chiefs, or, as the Tongans express it, "half-shell" (*ngeesi taha*). A chief may chide a half-chief by saying, "Ah, you half-shell." (The term *vaataha*—one branched—also refers to a person whose parentage is half chief, half commoner.) However, such a person as the son of Jioeli Pangia (who would be Tui Tonga if the office were not abolished) by a wife of low status would be *eiki* because of his father's royal blood.

The children of a woman of chiefly rank and a commoner also are spoken of as "half-chiefs" although they are regarded more highly than the offspring of a male chief and a female commoner.

The terms *eikimotu*, *eikitaupotu*, and *eikitoho* refer to a chief of highest rank, literally a chief of chiefs. The term *eikisii* means a petty chief. The term *eikianga* designates the residence and government of a chief.

So far I have been using the term chief in a loose sense, meaning any person with chiefly blood in his veins and not necessarily the holder of a title. The Tongan expression for title is *hingoa fakanofo* (literally, appointment name). I have been at pains to explain that only one person holds a title at a time, and that within a given family no two siblings are identical in rank. This statement of the situation is paralleled by what Mariner says of his four classes of society: *eiki*, matapule, *mua*, and *tua*. This is undoubtedly stating the situation in too ideal a form, but it nevertheless conveys a conception of gradation in rank.

It seems unlikely that anciently people selected their chiefs, except in so far as a choice was made between eligible candidates. However, the first

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If a girl with absent lover sneezes frequently it is a sign she is loved. The girl will say to herself: "He loves me." In addition, if anyone sneezes it is regarded as a sign that someone is talking about the sneezer or that someone is in love with the sneezer, and a common comment of bystanders is, "Kuo ofa mai" (there is love for this one). Sneezing at times presages misfortune. Thus, if a woman making tapa sneezes and some one is very ill in her family at the time, it is a sign that the sick person will soon die. Sneezing when asleep is also an omen of death. If the sneezer lies on his right side, the death will be on the father's side of the family, if on his left side on the mother's side of the family, if on his back it is a sign of the sneezer's own death. The evil portent of sneezing on the eve of an important undertaking is well illustrated by Mariner (41, vol. 1, p. 440).

Shadows seen in a cave called Anafakaata, at Haasini, Tongatabu, are portentous of either health or death. Upon entering this cave usually a number of shadows of the visitor is seen. If only one or three shadows appear, it is a sign that death is near to the one so shadowed; if two or four shadows appear, good health is assured. Shadows are not commonly ominous.

The appearance of an illuminated vessel at night was anciently, and still is, regarded as an omen of the death of a person of rank. Such a ghost vessel is called a *vakaloa*. In the first half of 1921 an illuminated "steamer" was seen off Lifuka Island a few nights prior to the arrival of the regular passenger steamer. It is said to have been seen by many people. It was probably a real steamer, but at any rate a few months later the ailing wife of the Governor of Haapai died. Mr. W. H. Murley relates that on the night previous to the death of Maealiuaki, the Governor of Haapai, a man called Osai and his wife were fishing on the island Uoleva (the adjoining island south of Lifuka) when suddenly they saw a sailing boat bearing up from the southeast and lighted with various colors. They waited to see no more and promptly fled into the bush.

Very loud thunder accompanied by much lightning presages war or other dire disaster. Thunder in December foretells the approach of the *o* fish. Thunder during a heavy windstorm which people apprehend might turn into a hurricane, is a sign that it will not. The last two statements seem to be in the nature of empirical observations rather than true omens. There was said to have been no individual who especially interpreted the thunder and lightning omens. An old poem refers to "thunder giving omen of war" and to Toutai (Navigator) Ula's "thunder from the west."

A land fog presages the death of a high chief. Such a fog is said to have preceded the death of the late king, George II. Murley, quoted above, mentions an ominous sea fog.

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which this clergyman enjoyed is further exemplified by the following anecdote: A married couple failed to produce children. They besought the aid of this clergyman and brought to him a pig. Still they were not blessed with a baby. Their neighbors said that the pig was not big enough. Apparently the procedure is the same as in heathen times.

Anciently, a priest might tapu a banana tree with its fruit by hanging a reed (*kaho*) on it. It was tapu for anyone to eat bananas from the tree under fear of sickness or death. The people regarded the priest "almost like a god." If he said a man would be dead tomorrow, the man died. If a person were sick or fell from a tree, or had other bad luck, it was regarded as evidence that he had stolen tapu bananas.

Peter Vi (3) tells of the following as taking place about 1830:

> There was little food at Haapai [Lifuka], because there was a tapu on the yams, and the pigs, etc., because they were preparing for the feast of the marriage of the Tui Haapai [Taufaahau] and Asipau.

It is said that if a commoner eats or drinks of the coconuts that grow on the top of the walled mound Siamafuauta, or rests there, he or she will become afflicted with goiter or some other sickness. This is because it is a chief's place and supernormally guarded by the Tui Tonga's tapu. This belief is still prevalent among the inhabitants of the neighboring village of Maufanga, Tongatabu.

It was tapu for a woman to step over a growing yam vine, presumably lest the plant be blighted. The term *hinakaiunga* refers to gray-headedness as a punishment for eating crab.

It was tapu to eat or drink the remains of the meal of a person higher in rank, a sore throat or swollen stomach being the probable result.

The following account was recorded by Collocott on January 29, 1921. It reveals the tapus connected with superior relatives.

> The girl Ika is suffering from a pain in her jaw; there seems to be a wisdom tooth growing. Amongst other measures for relief she went to her father's sister and told her about it, lest she should in this aunt's house have eaten something she should not, such as, remains of the aunt's food. The latter lady told her that there could be nothing of that, and that the trouble could be accounted for materially. Ika is named after the mother of her father and after this sister of her father—[the name Ika was given by the grandmother herself during her lifetime] and this naming gives her great immunities, in fact, seems to confer on her all the immunities that would be enjoyed by the older Ika herself were she still alive, but the girl's own inclination clearly is to use very sparingly her privileges. The aunt has given her food and drink left by her (Ika's) father, but she has not ventured to eat or drink them. She frequently goes to this aunt's place and eats there, and used to sit outside the house when eating or drinking, but the aunt, independently apparently of the efficacy of the name Ika, has got her to come inside and take her food, just like one of her own family. It was this practice that seemed to lend color to the girl's fear that her toothache was caused by improper eating. Had a broken tapu been the cause of Ika's tooth trouble the aunt could have cured it by stroking the spot. Incidentally, Ika mentioned to me that the penalty for using the comb of one who is tapu to me is that my hair turns gray.

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whether their insides were sound and entire*, and to practise surgical operations upon, hereafter to be described; and lastly, two or three were cut up to be cooked and eaten, of which about forty men partook. This was the second instance of cannibalism that Mr. Mariner witnessed, but the natives of these islands are not to be called cannibals on this account: so far from its being a general practice, it is on the contrary generally held in abhorrence, and where it is occasionally done, it is only by young warriors, who do it in imitation of the Fiji islanders, attaching to it an idea that there is something in it designating a fierce, warlike, and manly spirit. When they returned to Neafoo after their inhuman repast, most persons who knew it, particularly women, avoided them, saying, "Iá-whé moe ky-tangata," away! you are a man-eater.

The bodies being thus all disposed of, Finow began to make enquiries respecting the alleged treason of Lioofau, and finding no one capable

* It is a firm belief with the people that if a man infringes upon the *Taboo* (see p. 141) or commits any sacrilege, his liver or some other viscus is liable to become enlarged and schirrous: they therefore often open dead bodies out of curiosity, to see if they have been sacrilegious in their lifetime. The natives of these islands are particularly subject to schirrous tumours.

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643 763 782 —in the same manner as Finow was carried:—but notwithstanding all this, death overtook him in the course of eight days, after six weeks illness.

634 765 About a month or six weeks after the funeral ceremonies were finished, (which will be described under the head of Religious Ceremonies, in the second volume,) Finow, who had not broken his head (as they call it) at the grave of his father, because perhaps on a public occasion it would have looked in him like an ostentatious display of what might have been thought *affected* feeling, resolved to perform this ceremony in a more private manner, accompanied only by a few of his warriors, to whom he now signified his intention. Accordingly one morning he and his men began to prepare themselves for this affair, when unfortunately an accident happened, which to us Europeans (in the present times) would not have attracted the slightest attention; but, in the estimation of these people, was a matter pregnant with the most important and serious consequences:—for at this time Mr. Mariner, on entering the house, happened to sneeze!! Immediately every one present threw down his club, for who would proceed on so important an expedition after so dire an omen*! Finow's

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* To sneeze at the moment of setting out on an expedition argues, in their opinion, the most fatal results: even Finow

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eyes flashed with the fire of rage;—directing them full on Mr. Mariner, he cursed him with the most bitter curse, "strike your god!"—and, rising from the ground, he demanded why he came there?—to which he answered, "Your father would not have asked me that "question; and I am surprised that you are "so much unlike him, as to believe in such su-"perstitious nonsense." This was too much for him to bear, particularly before so many of his men; and snatching up a club that lay near him, he would have instantly despatched him, if some of the men present had not pushed Mr. Mariner out of the house, while the rest held Finow. Upon this the former wished him good bye*—said that if he wanted him he might send for him, adding, that he did not before know that his presence was so disagreeable. Several men then came out of the house, and hurried Mr. Mariner away, lest Finow, before his passion had time to cool, should pursue him, and effect some desperate revenge: he retired, therefore, to a house near the grave. Shortly after, Finow having consulted with his men upon the subject of Mr. Mariner's sneezing, resolved that, as he was a foreigner, and

who had a superior mind, could not efface from it the depth of the impression.

* The expression answering to this in the Tonga language is *Nae ger nofo*, (and you remain,) and is a phrase always used in taking leave of any one.

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had different gods, his sneezing was not to be considered of any consequence: they then proceeded to the grave to perform the ceremony of head-breaking, when Finow and all his men, inspired with enthusiasm, cut and bruised their heads in a shocking manner; Finow in particular, not contented with the usual instruments, made use of a saw, the teeth of which he struck against his skull with such vehemence and goodwill, that he staggered as he went home with loss of blood. These scenes need not be further described; we have already had enough of them.

Mr. Mariner, immediately after this, proceeded to his plantation, resolving to remain there, and see how long Finow would be contented without his company. This conduct, according to the manners and customs of Europeans, appears extremely haughty, arrogant, and presumptuous: for although Finow, in this instance, was undoubtedly much to blame in putting himself in such a violent rage, and Mr. Mariner in danger of his life, on the occasion of an accident which might so easily have happened, and might have been so difficult to avoid, yet the latter being so much the inferior, we might suppose it to be his duty first to ask pardon for the offence so unintentionally committed: but this plan would be far from pro-

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634 727 576 plantation ten days, notwithstanding repeated messages from Finow, and entreaties to return; and at last he so intimidated the messengers, by threatening to shoot them if they appeared again with that errand, that Finow at length resolved to fetch him himself; and accordingly one morning entered his house, and having awakened him, saluted him in the kindest and most affectionate manner, begged his pardon for his too hasty conduct, and wept abundantly. After this period they were inseparable friends.

634 727 827 777 During this reconciliation, Finow explained to Mr. Mariner the cause of his unseasonable rage against him for sneezing: it was not that he had any superstitious idea of it as a bad omen, but that it might have this effect upon the minds of his men, and thus put off his intended ceremony.

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and power of the soul or mind. They have no clear distinction between the life and the soul, but they will tell you that the *fotomanava* (the right auricle of the heart) is the seat of life. They form no idea respecting the use of the brain, unless it be, perhaps, the seat of memory; (they have a distinct word for memory, *manatoo*:) they derive this notion from the natural action of putting the hand to the forehead, or striking the head gently when trying to remember any thing. The liver they consider to be the seat of courage, and they pretend to have remarked (on opening dead bodies), that the largest livers (not diseased), belong to the bravest men. They also say they have made another observation respecting this viscus, viz. that, in left-handed people, it is situated more on the left than on the right side; and, in persons that are ambidexter, it is placed as much on one side as on the other. They are very well acquainted with the situation of all the principal viscera.

They acknowledge that the *tooas*, or lower order of people, have minds or souls; but they firmly believe that their souls die with their bodies, and, consequently, have no future existence. The generality of the tooas, themselves, are of this opinion, but there are some who have the vanity to think they have immor-

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mark of such sentiments is shewn to the gods, to chiefs, and aged persons. Actual impiety is little known among them: Finow (the late king) was, indeed, an impious character in many respects, but we have already seen how much the people wondered at his success. The same king was one day prevented from going out upon an expedition against the enemy, by one of his chiefs happening to sneeze, which is considered a bad omen. Finow, on a sudden, greatly exasperated, with raised arms, and clenched fists, exclaimed, in a loud voice, "Crowd, all ye gods, to the protection of these "people, nevertheless I will wreak my ven- "geance on them tenfold!" But this impious exclamation was heard with horror by every body. There is no necessity to dwell upon the respect that is universally paid to chiefs, for it forms the stable basis of their government; and, of course, cannot be allowed to be infringed upon: it is, in short, a superior sacred duty, the non-fulfilment of which it is supposed the gods would punish almost as severely as disrespect to themselves. The great veneration which they pay to aged persons is a very amiable trait in their character; and, though it is now kept up by old habit and custom, it must, no doubt, have arisen in the beginning from notions which would do honour to the most civilized

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degree of credit, and charms, which they sometimes practise, are more or less connected with their religion, we shall say something of them, before concluding the present subject. Most of their omens we have already had occasion to mention, and have given instances of in the course of the narrative. As to dreams, (see Vol. I. chap. 4 and 14.) Thunder and lightning (same vol. chap. 12 and 14.) Sneezing (same vol. chap. 14.) These omens obtain almost universal credit; and they are thought to be direct indications from the gods of some event that is about to happen. There is a certain species of bird which they call *chicota'*, which is very apt to make a sudden descent, and dart close by one, making a shrieking noise: this bird they suppose to be endowed with a knowledge of futurity, and they consider this action to be a warning of some evil that is about to happen.

As Mr. Mariner was once going out with the present king, and a party of men, upon some excursion against the enemy, one of these birds made a sudden descent, passed over their heads, settled on a tree, passed over their heads again, and again settled; upon which the majority, not excepting the king, were for returning immediately; but Mr. Mariner laughed at their superstition, and, to prove that the bird had no

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tunate. From what he has heard and seen of the success of this operation at the Tonga islands, he is disposed to believe that about three or four in ten recover by the aid of it. The Fiji islanders, however, speak of the happy effects of this singular mode of cure with much more confidence than the natives of Tonga; but as they claim the merit of the discovery, they are probably rather too profuse in praise of it.

Tetanus is not the only disease for the cure of which the operation of *tocolósi* is performed: it is adopted also in cases of wounds in the abdomen, upon the mistaken notion that any extravasated blood in the cavity of the abdomen is capable of passing off by the discharge from the urethra. Mr. Mariner saw the operation performed once in this case, and, as the man was considered in a very bad state, and notwithstanding got well, the cure was attributed to this remedy. It is also performed for relief in cases of general languor and inactivity of the system; but, in such instances, they only endeavour to produce irritation by passing the reed without any thread or artificial opening: the present king had it thus performed on him for this purpose; and two days afterwards he said he felt himself quite light, and full of spirits.

The natives of these islands are very subject

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looagi nofo, lolotonga gooa tegichi lyigi he tow, he tow fonnooa.

Oiaooé! coe mea fucca-manavabé co be tow: vackyange gooa váooa he fonnooa bea gooa mate covi he toonga tangata.

Gooa nofo noa ai-be bo-egi: iky' te now fa tango toca-taha-be he mahina gi he now feacoagi.

O'ooa-na tow manatoo-natoo: co-he-lotu gooa tow be tow fonnooa.

Co he fonnooa co Fiji nai omy' be tow gi he tow fonnooa co Tonga, bea gooa tow tooboo leva ange-co ginówtóloo.

O'ooa na tow manatoo-natoo, tow mate abé abongi-bongi.

Tow vala be chi-coola bea tow nawagi he tapa he gnatoo, tow y he fow he tow tooi jiale, bea tow cahooa he hooni ger fucca-háange tow gnanognano.

Fonongo-ange he mavava be toonga ky fonuooa.

Gooa hili he oola; be gooa toofa he genanga he tow catooanga; tow aloo abongi-bongi gi mooa.

Iky he holi-my he toonga tangata cawleange tow twinga cacala, bea beheange he now laboo my.

" He-mea-coia tai óĕóĕfooa he tow toonga fafine me Licoo, iky' he lillé

shall deeply think) to our former state (of affairs), whilst not yet (had) torn the war our land.

Alas! (it) is a thing terrible, the war; behold is bushy (over-grown with weeds and bushes) the land, and are dead sadly many men.

Are remaining unsettled there our chiefs: not shall they much wander singly (by) the moonlight to their mistresses.

Desist us reflecting: how can it be helped is (at) war our land!

The land (of) Fiji has brought the war to our land (of) Tonga, and (as) it is, let us act accordingly like them: (i. e. like the Fiji people).

Desist us (being) melancholy (i. e. let us be merry), we (shall be) dead perhaps to-morrow.

Let us dress (with) the chicoola, and let us bind our waists with tapa (of) the gnatoo: we (will) put on the head-dress (made of) our strung jiale-flowers; and (put on) our necklaces (of) the hooni-flower to shew off our sun-coloured skins *.

Listen to the applauses (of) the multitude: (i. e. mark how they praise us).

Now is ended the *oola*; and (they) are distributing the materials (of) our feast: let us go to-morrow to the mooa.

Not (are) eager towards us (meaning, are very eager) the (young) men begging our wreaths (of) flowers, and thus their flattery towards us.

They (are) not beautiful, our (young) women (coming) from Li-

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[142 827] * On being exposed a little while to the sun, their skins, particularly of women and children, and others not much subjected to the heat, become suffused with a reddish tint, which, together with the soft natural brown, is greatly admired.

[p. 380]

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Pages 66-67. A poem of Mamaeaepoto

1. This is a depreciatory introduction by the poet to his poem.

2. The statements to which Mamaeaepoto refers were probably made in another poem of the rival, Falepapalangi.

3. The expression *masi homou kelekele* is difficult to translate. One meaning of *masi* relates to oil which has been kept a long time, the fragrance thereby being fully brought out. The inference is made that the reference is to the gathering to which the poem is recited, or sung, the people being in festive array, with abundance of sweet smelling oil and garlands.

4. The simile is made to pigeon-snaring (*heu lupe*). "The *sia*, mound on which the sport is carried on, has fallen to you; you have become the champion of the *sia*."

5. Falepapalangi has claimed that Mamaeaepoto has borrowed ideas or verses from him. Mamaeaepoto retorts by making the same claim against his rival.

6. A variant reads *Nae sili pe e mahina*, which is susceptible of a similar translation, to that given but might also be translated, "Who netted (caught) the moon" (an ironic gibe—you are the great hero who caught the moon). There seem, however, to be no Tongan tales referring to a catching of the moon.

7. The lines which follow may be called the parable of the boat. There is a gibe at Falepapalangi's deformity, which makes it impossible for him to do any of the tasks in a boat. Mamaeaepoto, although his hands were misshapen, is said to have been able to work in a boat, as he here claims. In these, and in the following lines, besides the literal meaning, there is a metaphorical reference to the craft of the bard.

8. Mamaeaepoto says that although Falepapalangi cannot do the work of the boat, no one will blame him, deformed as he is. The Tongan is peculiarly sensitive to physical blemishes.

9. Mamaeaepoto enumerates various things which it would be absurd for Falepapalangi to attempt. Lofia, the crater of Tofua, in Haapai, Matahau, an inland village in Tongatabu; Tuita was the chief sailor of the Tui Tonga; Loau, a very famous chief, of perhaps the thirteenth century, to whom is attributed the division of the lands of Tonga amongst the various chiefs; Lomu, the Tui Tonga's chief boat builder; Lolopaongo, the famous regiment of the village of Foui.

10. The literal meaning of *ma'ahi'ahi* is not clear. One meaning is "little wave [of the sea]" and it has also been suggested that the literal meaning here is "waved about." "Clearly defeated" seems to give the sense.

11. Mamaeaepoto recommends to Falepapalangi to "go along quietly and look well to your sail, lest I send you a gust that will sink you, and you don't reach the point you are making for" (figuratively represented as the fishing reef). "The gathering of birds" means the flock of birds hovering over a shoal of fish. Faleosinilau, Fokihangatonga, and Puhoiatu are names of fishing grounds.

12. Paleikolotau is the name of an individual tree or, more probably, of the locality where some well-marked tree stood, apparently near Lavengahau, a place in Vavau, where it is indicated that sweet smelling flowers for wreaths and girdles were plentiful. Mamaeaepoto calls for the sweet blossoms of his native Vavau to prepare him for his victorious exploits at the Sacred Reef (famous fishing ground), that is for his triumphs in poetry.

13. "The people of Tonga shall see that, although I was born in Vavau, I am equal to them." Probably there are three strata of meaning: the literal claim of skill in fishing, the figurative one of skill in poetry, and, since Tonga (that is, Tongatabu as distinguished from Haapai and Vavau) is the seat of the highest chiefs, the claim that Mamaeaepoto, no less than Falepapalangi or any other, has by his abilities won a place of closeness to the great chiefs.

14. Possibly this sentence was sung by a chorus.

15. Mamaeaepoto turns the tables on his rival by the assertion that, although Falepapalangi is a Tongan born, yet he has neglected to celebrate in his poems the points of beauty and interest of his country, having been too much taken up with abuse of Mamaeaepoto to do it justice, or less likely he turns in good-humored criticism on himself, telling himself to leave his attack on the man of Tongatabu and celebrate the beauties of the country.

16. Meaning "Burying, concealing, omitting to celebrate Tongatabu."

17. Line of breakers; indicates a good place for surf-riding.

18. Sina is an unidentified place; Valefanau is in Hihifo.

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cord when the hunter attempts to pull it back to him, is probably the figure of courting a girl who is yet too shy and coy to respond to the advances of her lover.

23. "That it be of comfort and use to thee on sea and land."

23. "Thou art skilled in its taking" signifies "Being a bard yourself, and able to carry things of this sort about with you in your mind." How skilled he was in this taking, Falepapalangi presently proved by repeating the whole piece.

24. These lines seem to be a general approval of liberal culture.

25. This apparently is a modest depreciation of his own efforts. Anopepe is in Eua.

26. "Like a steep cliff" is the poet's inability to do justice to the dead man, or to the merits of Falepapalangi. "Two throws strike its face," a very intelligent Tongan explained as indicating a high cliff where a stone dropped from the top struck the cliff face before falling to the bottom; but since two throws are mentioned it would rather suggest throwing a stone from the bottom.

27. The mother of Hikuleo was Havealolofonua, one of the orginal goddesses, born of seaweed and mud. This hint of her living with Hikuleo in Pulotu (Hikuleo was the god of Pulotu) is very rare, if not unique, in Tongan myth. The Samoan god of Pulotu was Saveasiuleo, preserving in himself both the names Havea and Hikuleo (26; 15. No. 3, p. 276). An old Maui, the grandfather of Maui Kisikisi, is represented as living in the underworld.

28. Atamusi and Atavaha are said to be two gods from Pulotu who brought some forms of wealth to men. The wish is expressed that all the wealth brought by these two, and all the wealth brought in modern times from foreign lands could be given to Falepapalangi to console him in his grief. There is said to have been a man living in Tonga some time ago who was called the Ponepe. I have conjectured that he came from Ponape. The war flag of France is perhaps a reference to the visit of a French vessel of war in the forties of last century. Nuse is presumably New Zealand, although now the Tongans call that country Niu Sila.

29. Konaofafine (Treasure of women) is a name for Falepapalangi.

Pages 82-84. Falepapalangi's last poem

1. The name Haapai stands at the head of this piece and at the end, a note that it is the last poem of Falepapalangi.

2. The sneeze is not always a sign of bad luck. It is supposed to be a good sign in a sick man. One informant, however, says that to sneeze in sleep is a sign of death; a sneeze lying on right side is an omen of death on the father's side of the family, if on left, of death on the mother's side, and if the one who sneezes is lying on his back it is a sign of his own death. In ordinary usage a sneeze is greeted with a laugh, as it is said to indicate that someone is in love with the person who sneezes. This recalls the propitious sneezes in Catullus' well-known lines. To sneeze, however, just before entering on some enterprise is said to be a bad sign.

3. Uluakimapa is a nickname (*hinga fakatenetene*) of some chief. These names are always pleasant.

4. By this metaphor of the sea Falepapalangi indicates the coming of his sickness upon him.

5. Some lines possibly have fallen out at this point. There are indicated instances of wrong procedure on the part of a *matapule*, the poet himself, in this instance. He describes his conducting a kava ceremony without having a piece of the root before him. He also describes some wrong disposal of the food (*fono*) served with the kava.

6. This is another sea metaphor; to come up to the wind here means "sailed well up to the wind of success."

7. The text expresses his misplaced confidence and pride; he regarded himself as a man of mark.

8. "To level the hill" is "to lay himself low."

9. Uluakiheilala is a nickname of some chief. The *heilala* is one of the plants used in the garlands and girdles. The chief, in his anxiety for Falepapalangi, gives orders for a boat to be got ready to sail to some place where there is a temple and sanctuary, to supplicate there, and turn away the anger of the god.

9a. Heataukakapa is another nickname, probably that of a chief who was a friend of Falepapalangi.

10. The bird of heaven is an omen, presaging the death of Falepapalangi. Kaimotokanga (eat and attend) is a proverbial expression for proceeding warily. The bird

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539 826 **407. Lahilahi a ngavaivai:** A weak man is big, or the bigness of a weak man.

Big fleshy people have not the strength and endurance of those of lean wiry build. The companion phrase is *"Jiijii a pakiji,"* which indicates the tough endurance of the lean wiry man. (See No. 406.)

PHYSICAL DEFECTS

539 304 782 **408. Fafa he ho nima ku:** Stroke that with your stumpy hand.

Nima ku, that is a hand of which a finger has been mutilated by the amputation of a joint, is used familiarly for *nima*, hand. Before the introduction of Christianity such mutilation was extremely frequent, as finger joints were commonly sacrificed to the various gods. The expression is used by one who has done something that should prove gratifying to another; much as English speaking people say, "Well, what do you think of that?" The literal idea is that of fondling, caressing, with the hand, as though one should say "There's a deed, or a thing, of which you might well be fond."

409. Tonu a fulu-ku: Correctness of mutilated.

Refers directly to the customary mutilation of the hand by cutting off the top of the finger in sacrifice. A person with a hand thus disfigured might be very skillful in dances, many of which consist largely of motions of the hands, but the mutilation would to some extent mar the [183] charm. So generally of that which is done all right, but is spoiled by some defect.

539 827 **410. Kui lohiaki a:** A shortsighted man pretending to have good sight.

The shortsighted man may try to conceal his defect by pretending to see things that he is unable to distinguish clearly.

539 515 302 386 **411. Hange ha uku ha tula:** Like a bald man washing his head.

A bald man needs but a very thin mixture of lime or clay and water to cleanse his scanty locks. So a weak, watery decoction of *koka* (coloring matter for the native cloth), or of some other mixture, is compared to the head wash of a bald man.

MISCELLANEOUS

539 302 [137] **412. Aofanga tuku:** Head bound for hair burning.

The words used are chiefly. The place of a hair cut was taken in former times by a hair burn. In one method the lower part of the head was bound round with a green leaf of the *ii* (*Cordyline terminalis*) and then the hair singed off the top. This phrase means literally the leaf for the hair-burning, and is said to indicate that the leaf is ready adjusted for the process to begin. When the leaf is bound round there is no other preparation to make, everything is ready, and thence the expression has come to denote final, last.

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413. Faala fakatau ki he muiulu: Looking (for lice) at the back of the head. 539 183 515

The back of the head is the favorite camping-ground of lice, and though the huntress may pick up a few strays in other localities it is at the back of the head that she is likely to make her largest bag. So used of looking for anything where it is most likely to be found.

414. Tata a tua nima: Nearness of back of the hand. 539 571 602 826

The back of the hand is very close to the palm, but when anything is grasped it is the palm only that touches it. Used of one who gets nothing when a close relative is distributing favors. In spite of his closeness he touches nothing.

415. Teeki pea toki fakataane: Break wind and then sit properly. 539 827 576 516

The uncouth first word is often exchanged for *angavale*, behave vulgarly. The phrase indicates one who squats down on his heels, or otherwise sits carelessly in company, and whose unguarded behavior is the cause of an embarrassing accident. Afterwards he sits as he should (*fakataane* is the sitting posture of the men) but then it is too late to repair the slip. Generally refers to one who after an accident takes the precautions that he should have taken before. Shutting the stable door after the horse has got out.

416. Tufotufa ulu-nima: Distributing (with) fingers. 539 431 183

Giving away grudgingly; not grasping heartily and offering with good will, but taking hesitatingly and unwillingly presenting something with the ends of the fingers. (Compare No. 111.)

HOME AND COMPOUND

417. Ana jiko-makii: Cave sullied with excrement. 539 356 [342]

Used of a place of human habitation or resort originally small and inconvenient and rendered still more so by the careless filthiness of those who use it. In connection with this it is asserted that caves were the earliest dwellings of the people. (See No. 425.)

418. Hifo i toumua: Going down to (one's own) frontage, that is, one leaving his house and going down to the road straight in front of his place. 539 351 461

The frontage is in line with his own property, and so the phrase comes to be used of one putting his hand to a task that is in line with his powers, undertaking that which he is well able to perform.

419. Hikihiki kaua: Shifting fence or boundary. 539 423 571 829

"Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's land-mark." Boundaries are tabu and must not be tampered with. For the strong to shift the boundary of the weak would be a mark of tyrannous effrontery. The expression is a reproach to those who change what should be inviolably fixed.

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Fakafumaka, or Vakafuhu, is the god of the village of Kanokupolu, already mentioned as giving his title to the Tui Kanokupolu. Formerly there stood here a tree beneath which the installation of the Tui Kanokupolu took place. A piece of wood from this tree has been used in the construction of the throne of the Tongan kings, being let in at the back of the royal seat, a symbol of the tree which once stood at the back of the Tui Kanokupolu during his installation ceremony.

The sacred animal of this god was a little shell-fish called the *fuhu*, but there is an obscure statement that he appeared sometimes as a man and sometimes as a rock. The appearance as a man is probably his declaring himself through the priest, but the meaning of his being a rock is not clear, though it is apparently closely connected with the *fuhu*.

An old song is still extant describing the voyage of Faka-fumaka and Tutula, accompanied by the goddess Fai or Fai-malie, to Bulotu. Fai is the real heroine of the piece, and distinguished herself not only by her coolness and good sense in the several difficulties and dangers in which they were involved during the voyage, but also by her voracious appetite in Bulotu, whence arises a proverbial expression meaning to lick the platter clean, which in Tongan is to "lick like Fai." Tongans, however, have no cause to regret her greediness, for, having swallowed a yam in Bulotu, she returned to Tonga and gave birth to a root that has been the progenitor of all the yams in these islands.

Haele-feke, literally "the Octopus comes," or "Coming in the Octopus," is a god which appeared in the octopus (*feke*). He is also called Tutula, already mentioned as the companion of Faimalie and Faka-fumaka in their journey to Bulotu. Haele-feke is the god of Motua-buaka (lit. Old Pig), an important *matabule* of the Tui Kanokupolu, and of Kiou, the head of a younger branch of the same clan. The clans of Motua-buaka and Kiou, inhabiting a cluster of villages in the western district of Tongatabu, refrained from eating the small octopus which is a favourite delicacy of the majority of Tongans.

The octopus god used to appear ashore in a pool called Kanakana. It is said that he changed into a lizard when travelling overland. When an octopus appeared in this pool it was at once recognised as the god, and the priestess immediately went and awaited him at the shrine, apparently a little raised platform, whither presently the people resorted with bunches of coconuts and plaited coconut leaves and earth. The priestess spoke as the octopus, and from words used by an informant would seem to have imitated an octopus, presumably sprawling out in the manner of this ungainly creature.

The people of this deity not only eschewed in their own diet the flesh of the octopus, but they must not approach a place where he was being eaten. If any transgressed the *tabu* he was afflicted with

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complete baldness, which, however, could be cured by suitable supplications. Should any of the octopus people find one of their gods dead they gave him decent and ceremonious burial in Teekiu, their head village. With this god was connected the large cowrie shell (*bulo*), from whose movements auguries were read. The connection perhaps arises from the use of the shell in octopus-fishing, or both facts have a common origin. A cowrie-shell forms the centre of the bait, which is furnished with artificial tentacles, and somewhat resembles an octopus. This on being lowered into the water is clasped by the octopus, who is then hauled up and taken.

Fono-ki-tangata, the god of the chief Valu and his people in Utulau, in the central part of Tongatabu. The "*fono*" is the food served with *kava*, and "*fono ki tangata*" means to use human flesh in this way. When the *kava* was presented to the god a human sacrifice accompanied it.

Tui Fiji, literally king of Fiji, is the god of Haa-Vakatolo, whose chief is Ahomee, a village near the eastern boundary of the western part of Tongatabu. The sacred object of the Tui Fiji is the tree called *fehi* (*vesi* in Fiji), whose hard wood was a favourite with the makers of spears and canoes. This tree does not flourish in Tonga, but there are some specimens at Haavakatolo, and it is asserted that it is impossible to get it to grow elsewhere in the group. The *fehi*, or *vesi*, flourishes in Fiji.

Tradition records that on one occasion as the Haavakatolo people were about to fight a neighbouring folk Tui Fiji told them to place between themselves and their enemies a large lump of the food prepared by burying and fermenting certain fruits; in this case plantain. The warriors then each ate a piece of this food. None who had partaken of this sacramental meal was to turn aside to right or to left, or to flee from the foe. Immunity from death or serious wound lay in keeping straight ahead. With the dictates of caution thus urging to bold frontal attack the braves of Haavakatolo scored a signal victory.

Jiji and Fainga'a are two female divinities belonging to the Falefa, a clan of great *matabules* attached to the Tui Tonga. An old story relates their unfortunate love for a handsome yellow-haired Samoan named Bajikole ("Folk-Lore," Vol. XXVI.). Their sacred creature is the heron (*motuku*), the dark-coloured heron being the incarnation of Jiji, and the light-coloured of Fainga'a. In Tonga a pair of herons flying together, one dark and the other light-coloured, are called Jiji and Fainga'a. It is said that formerly a pair of herons so differentiated was no uncommon sight, but it is rarely seen now.

Finau-tau-iku, a god whose habitat was in the eastern end of Tongatabu, near the chief residence of the Tui Tonga. His priest was named Mohe-ke-fie-hua (Sleep to Jest?). He is spoken of as a

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752 leaves that are drunk tend rather to poison the patient than to assist
753 his cure; but applied to pneumonia, pleurisy, or consumption, the method is disastrous. The ideas which direct the healer are of the haziest. I once questioned a man, an intelligent man to boot, who was a noted healer in this genre, as to the type of disorder which he treated. I said that I could understand that a broken bone, or even a strained muscle might be spoken of as a rupture, but what sort of a break was that which made a man have a pain in his chest. What was broken or strained? "It's just a break," he said, and that was all about it. I don't think he was guarding professional secrets through fear of a possible rival.

The rupture that causes the trouble may not be recent, but a little judicious questioning does not fail to identify at last the incident to which the blame attaches. A forgotten fall, or the lifting of a heavy weight, is recalled; "Ah, that is it."

753 A third great class of sicknesses embraces boils and ulcers and
827 rashes and skin diseases generally, as well as swellings and tumours. These external complaints have individual names, but the class name, *hangatamaki*, is applied with the usual vagueness to diseases external and internal. A specially severe sickness of this sort is "various thing," an internal complaint, in which a mixture of troubles are present, together with a roving commission which enables them to attack different parts of the body simultaneously or successively.
755 The medicines for this type of disease seems to have a special viru-
757 lency, or to be specially suitable for witchcraft. Medicines in general have the power of causing the sickness which they cure. A girl had a swelling on her abdomen which was cured by a woman, but the girl's brother afterwards had a swelling on the neck. This was caused by the medicine which had cured the girl. A woman was once sitting quietly in church, when all at once she commenced to cough. She coughed, and coughed, and presently felt something in her mouth. She put up her hand and grasped it. It was smooth and round. She thought it was the end of her bowels! She pulled, and the thing came away in her hand, and she cast it from her on the floor—a big, strange, hairy worm. Then she gathered it up in her handkerchief. In spite of her fright, she evidently felt strong proprietary rights in the creature, and would have resented anyone else picking it up; "If I can't pick it up, who can?" The sagacious suggestion was made to drown the animal in medicine, and so make a potion able to cure a similar disorder should it ever reappear. But the worm would not drown. It was thrown into various medicines, but throve in them all, and at last was cast into the fire and burnt. Thus science, on the verge of discovery, was again baffled.

Since medicines have the power of causing the ills they cure they must be treated properly. Unauthorised meddling with medicine

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It probably occurs in the word for breath (*manava*), which again is used of the womb, though apparently without strict anatomical precision. This same word is found in compounds meaning fear (*manava-jii* "little manava or breath," *manava-he* "wandering manava"), and courage (*manava-lahi* "great manava"). Taking this class of words together the primary significance of mana seems to be living power or force, and the word for breath and womb perhaps means the place or seat of this power or force.

OMENS

The occult forces of the universe frequently manifest themselves as warnings to mankind, and hence arises one of the commonest uses of the word mana, namely an omen. Many of these omens are still known and more or less believed in. A considerable number are concerned with impending calamity to a chief. Usually of course the portent would occur in a locality or in an object which had some relation to the threatened lord. In the island of Uiha in Haapai is a spring which turned red as a warning of the approaching death of the chiefs connected with that place. A rock in the western district of Tongatabu indicated in some way a similar catastrophe. The breaking off, in calm weather, of branches of the banyan tree is an omen of the death of a great chief. The large tree in eastern Tongatabu under which Captain Cook addressed the natives fell down a few years ago, and this proved to be an omen of the death of the late King George II, though His Majesty survived the tree by about two years. The roaring of the sea on the wide flats skirting a good length of the shore of western Tongatabu is also the sign of the death of a chief. At the time of the death of King George I there was an unusually protracted spell of rainy weather. This too was mana, though apparently not so much an omen of the king's approaching end as a sympathetic disturbance of the supernatural powers accompanying the passing of this truly great man. Some still affirm that this king's death was presaged by the approach of a great shoal of fish to the coast of Tongatabu. At Kolovai, in western Tongatabu, the village of the high chief Ata, are several casuarina trees where the flying-foxes are protected by a tabu. These trees with their clus-

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[For a list of Tongan words on disease and medicine, see Category 192, pp. 14-19.]